THE WAITING WAR

—John Cogley

THE

Commonweal

Blunting Point Four

by José Figueres

This Over-Organized Society

by Joseph P. Fitzpatrick

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THE Commonweal

week by week

ARMS AND THE MEN

ONLY fifty years ago a "crazy" bicycle mechanic tottered aloft in a powered glider of bamboo and canvas. His brother and a scattering of curious North Carolina neighbors watched as the flimsy kite lurched through the wind and then settled again, skidding across the sand to a breathless, trembling stop. And when the spectacle was over, the future was unalterably changed; history's river found a new channel along which it was to flood.

Only fifty years ago. And in the last weeks of 1953, when a man flew at twice the speed of sound, the military future of the United States was profoundly altered, as the latest tribute we pay to that North Carolina autumn.

Admiral Arthur W. Radford, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, announced officially the "New Look" in the American armed forces. Strategy is changed. We are no longer planning to be prepared for a year of crisis, but for a decade of inching crisis. Plans to govern the size and composition of the American military services until June 30, 1957, are now formulated. By that date, the Army will have been reduced from its present strength of one million, five hundred thousand men to one million men. The Navy and Marine Corps together will have been reduced from a million men to eight hundred and forty thousand. The Air Force will have been increased from nine hundred and forty-five thousand to nine hundred and seventy-five thousand men.

THESE plans will frequently be reviewed, and may well have been changed by 1957. But these are our present goals. The plan is the first specific statement of the policy which will be followed by the Eisenhower Administration and the new Joint Chiefs.

The principles of the new policy have been stated by the New York *Times* as follows: an effort to save on manpower; an effort to save money; a desire to obtain greater firepower; and the belief that the newest megaton hydrogen weapons, used as a threat to Russian cities and industries, are the greatest deterrent to war.

Military planning is obviously not something which can responsibly be done in Manhattan editorial offices. But the press must raise questions, and a most disturbing question is that of how heavily each of the four principles weighed in formulating the "New Look." It would be absolute catastrophe if the political considerations involved in the desire to save money were the determining factor in the new policy.

We must also question the essential change of direction involved in these calculations. The slogan is "a bigger bang for a buck." The fact is that hydrogen bomb warfare is being made the principal instrument of our military forces. Atomic bombs and atomic ammunition-firing field pieces have already "virtually achieved conventional status" in the Army, Navy and Air Force, according to Admiral Radford. This means that we are gradually, cautiously, nervously, coming to place our reliance on the single absolute weapon. We are moving towards the status of a boxer who is hopeless at the jab, the feint, and the parry, but who has an awesome, unstoppable haymaker. We are moving to a point where we will be unable to make war without making it a war of atomic and hydrogen bombs.

The absolute weapon is the simplest and most economical means to use to annihilate an enemy. But the last war surely taught us that the annihilation of an enemy destroys more than the enemy alone. It destroys hope and mercy, and some part of the destroyer. And there are occasions, as in Korea and Indochina, when the mechanically logical annihilation of the real enemy is no solution at all. The hope of the future, as this magazine sees it, is that if more war must come it will be no worse than the bitter but non-absolute scuffle, the show of strength, we have endured in Korea. If it is to be more than that, it must not come because we have abandoned every other course.

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CHARITY RACKETS

EXPOSURES of various sorts are currently so frequent that the ordinary citizen has become pretty well hardened to them. Yet a wave of indignation has greeted the recent findings of a New York State legislative committee on a number of fund-raising ventures. The beggar outside a European cathedral may maintain that he performs a useful service by providing departing worshippers with an outlet for charitable propensities. But it is a case here of solicitation on a grand scale either in order to support bevies of well-paid personnel or, in certain instances, for charitable activities that are wholly non-existent.

There is evidence, for example, that the Disabled American Veterans organization has raised over twenty million dollars without disbursing a cent in direct aid to veterans and their families; that over four-fifths of this amount has gone to promotional or organization expenses; that in their appeals for funds the DAV had used such names as Dwight D. Eisenhower, Omar Bradley and Douglas MacArthur without authorization.

The hearings also produced much evidence about fake solicitors in religious and other garb, sucker lists, spurious solicitation by phone and other crooked devices. Here was an area the existence of which has long been widely suspected. But all the same the testimony had the immediate effect of curtailing the Christmas receipts of a number of worthy service agencies.

The picaresque theory that "only saps work" no longer sounds amusing. What if many of the donors to these spurious or high-overhead causes were so blessed with the world's goods that they would not really miss their innocently misdirected donations? That is a distinctly minor point. What is essential here is that never before in the world's history have there been so many fellow humans in extreme need throughout the world—or, at least, we have never before known so much about the need of others or been in so good a position to render aid. These fake and questionable enterprises have shaken American confidence in organized charities generally. They have made it that much easier for men to pass by with the priest and levites of the Good Samaritan parable.

Depriving the needy is the real crime of the master minds and petty operators who have been preying upon the sympathies of men and women who believe that they *are* their brother's keeper.

NEXT WEEK

ROBERT BARRAT and GUNNAR D. KUMLIEN write about priest workers in France and Spain, respectively.

According to M. Barrat, "It is not enough to say that the priest workers were accepted by the working masses; they became in a way the soul and hope of the workers' cause. Almost too much so. For that was the price of their identification with that world and its sufferings. In many cases they became more worker than the workers themselves . . ." Gunnar D. Kumlien tells of a visit to Barcelona: "If the objectives, the work, the risks and the problems of the Brotherhood of Christ the Worker are roughly the same as those of the French priest workers, its organization is completely different . . . the members are priests and lay brothers living in economically independent communities . . . "

THE TWENTY-TWO

WHAT prompts Americans to choose to remain in Communist hands rather than return home? What manner of men are these who spurn appeals from mothers, who sneer at U.S. policies and parrot the wildest statements of the Peiping radio? Because Americans take it so much for granted that no U.S. citizen would want to live under any other system, the refusal of the twenty-two to come home is almost like a blow in the face to the rest of us. By their conduct they challenge everything citizens of this country hold dear. For these are not North Koreans or Chinese, refusing to return to their Communist-dominated lands. These are American young men, most of them not long past high school age. They come from American towns and farms. What awaits them at home is not a forced labor battalion, but college on the GI Bill if they want it, or a job in a free country if they do not.

If no one can give an answer that will cover all these cases, certain facts have now been released about the twenty-two to provide a few clues. For those who worry about the seduction of youth in American colleges, there is comfort: Only two of the twenty-two had any college education, according to present information, and only three others finished high school. For those concerned about family life, there is a strong stimulus to renewed efforts: At least fourteen out of the twenty-two came from families broken by death, divorce or separation. The average age of those refusing repatriation is just short of twenty-three; going into the Army young, most had never had either a steady job or a steady girl. Their families in most cases were in the lower-income brackets, and the majority lived

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on farms or in small towns. The minority groups which are the targets of special Communist propaganda contributed only three members to the twenty-two. So the composite GI who refuses repatriation looks something like this: young, from a broken home or with an unusual family background, from a low-income group, not well educated, not yet well enough established in life to have developed any roots in American life.

Actually, though the idea of even twenty-two Americans refusing to come home is shocking to most U.S. citizens, the free world has come off exceptionally well in this matter of the PW exchange. Of the twenty-two Americans, only a handful are estimated to be hard-core Communists. The background of the rest seems to indicate emotional rather than political traumas. The picture is there, for all the world to see; on the one hand, twenty-two Americans refuse repatriation, and on the other thousands upon thousands of North Koreans and Chinese refuse to return to Communism. All must mourn for the twenty-two who are lost, but in the smallness of that figure there is hope and victory as well.

THE SOVIET ARTIST

WHEN the Central Committee of the Communist Party in 1948 condemned "formalistic distortions and anti-democratic tendencies" in modern music, the Soviet Union's most celebrated modern composers, Sergei Prokofieff, Dimitri Shostakovich, and Aram Khatchaturian, publicly confessed their sins and begged official forgiveness. In the future, they promised, their music would be one hundred per cent ideologically pure.

This spectacle of great musicians, men of undoubted genius, willing to debase themselves and their work to follow the twistings of Party doctrine, was one of the most humiliating—and in Western terms inexplicable—phenomena of Soviet life in the last decade. And it seemed to condemn these men to artistic sterility and death.

Now there appear signs of a resurrection. Aram Khatchaturian (one of the 1948 offenders) has written an article condemning the "time serving" and "monumental" Soviet compositions of recent years, and his article has been published in the November issue of *Soviet Music*. Entitled "On Creative Boldness and Inspiration," the article demands an end to artistic "tutelage" and makes a strong plea for artistic freedom. Khatchaturian affirms that "a creative problem cannot be solved by bureaucratic means," and he attacks works "written without creative elan, with a glance over the shoulder, expressing the fear that something untoward might happen."

Few lights come out of the Soviet Union today. When one is seen, there is a temptation to magnify it, to mistake it for an ending of the night. Khatchaturian's affirmation of the artist's freedom is no indication that the night is over. But it is a light, nonetheless, and it is significant of something important, for it could not have been made without the approval of the new Soviet authorities. It may therefore mark the mitigation of one of the most barbarous manifestations of Stalinist culture—its absolute enslavement of the creative intelligence.

This mitigation might indeed be little enough, considered in the total context of Soviet tyranny, but we must, in these times, be grateful for small things. And this one light, if it continues to burn, should dispel at least some of the darkness which hangs over the Communist world.

THE BIRD

THE most cheerful news item of 1953 came from a small town on the New Jersey shore. Some time ago, on the beach, there were discovered footmarks—the tracks of an enormous bird, leading up out of the sea. The tracks were over a foot in width, with webbed, scaled claws. The town rocked with speculation. The Roc rode again.

The tracks disappeared with the tide. But during subsequent months, as interest in the phenomenon lapsed and the town settled again into its old routine, the tracks would be found again.

Last month, a team of college science students came to the town to measure and analyze the mysterious tracks. A resident who lived near the scene of the mystery, a retired insurance broker, volunteered to take them to see the marks of the great bird; but this gentleman's reserve at last broke; he began to laugh and he undoubtedly is laughing still. The tracks were his. The "feet" were a contraption of stones, shells and old inner tube. Their purpose was to liven up the long winter.

This gentleman's sense of humor appeals to us strangely but strongly. If the retired insurance broker from New Jersey ever again begins to feel the pangs of boredom, we wish he would get in touch with us; we could supply the long, dull winter.

In his recent address to the Union of Italian Catholic Jurists, the Pope declared that "the duty to repress religious and moral deviation cannot . . . be an ultimate norm for action." We regret that the word "religious" appeared as "religion" in last week's editorial "The Pope and Religious Tolerance."

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Blunting Point Four

THE PRESIDENT OF COSTA RICA OFFERS A CRITICAL VIEW OF THE UNITED STATES' TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE PROGRAM

JOSÉ FIGUERES

WE Latin Americans cannot but welcome with enthusiasm the plan known as the Point Four Program of Technical Assistance. What this involves is an offer to make available to the peace-loving peoples of the world the benefits of the technical knowledge of the era, stored in the United States during the last few decades. Such a plan, if felicitously administered and received, will bring about a betterment of living conditions for the less favored members of the human family, and will be a step towards that high level of general education necessary for universal peace and happiness.

That part of the program which concerns technical assistance and which seems to have constituted the original conception of Point Four, needs little comment other than praise. Hardly any other expenditure of such modest size could produce such multiplied results, both in world development and in good will towards the United States.

The section of Point Four Program which demands careful study refers to the flow of North American capital to other countries as a means of economic development. You have often read what prospective investors and business associations expect from the countries to be developed, and from the United States government. I would like here to tell in a few words what, in my opinion, the recipient countries should expect.

First of all, we do not want a new wave of colonialism, such as foreign ownership has sometimes implied in the past. We have no desire for our countries to be the producers of raw materials at low wages. We object to such arrangements as tend to refine our crude sugar in the industrial countries, make the furniture from our timber, manufacture the tires from our rubber, lay the rope from our fiber, smelt the metals from our ores. Unless, in accordance with Chapultepec Conference, the international organizations can arrange for our agriculture products to command prices which bear a fair relation to what we pay for manufactured articles, we shall have to process our materials at home, even if the small-scale methods imply an apparently higher cost.

In the second place, we are not interested in private investments in public utilities. We hold that the public should own the installations destined to general services and development, no matter what the propaganda of the power companies may say. All the disadvantages that the people of the American Northwest and of the Tennessee Valley found in privately controlled electric power, are aggravated in Latin America by foreign ownership. We uphold the tendency towards supernational integration in many aspects, but we refuse to surrender to foreign companies the control of our public services, which we deem a major part of our economic sovereignty.

As a third objection, we resent the pretence of speculators who assert that their motive in investing money abroad is to foster the development of our countries. One step further, and business will become philanthropy! The sole objective in most cases is to make money, and our economic development is only a doubtful consequence. We distrust people who assure us that they are willing to "run a risk," for we have discovered that what they really want is to "make a killing."

NOW, after showing one side of the picture and saying what we do not want, let us point to the other side, and describe what we consider as most desirable.

We believe that the soundest way of strengthening, from the outside, the economy of the Latin American countries, consists in paying a fair price for our products. My own little country, a coffee exporter, offers a good example of this, in what has happened during the last three crops. In 1949, negotiations were started with the World Bank for one, or several, development loans. After three years of study, the Bank concluded that Costa Rica could use, without danger of serious economic disturbances, outside capital to an approximate amount of three million dollars. In the meantime, the coffee market improved, and the three annual crops were sold at a fair price. The additional income to the country, coming exclusively from the difference in the

This article was written before Senor Figueres' recent election to the Presidency of Costa Rica.

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price level, represents an aggregate amount of thirty million dollars, or ten times our allotted credit. The loans from the World Bank have not been necessary, although we are grateful for the generous offer.

During World War II the coffee market was fixed by the Office of Price Administration at a level that turned out to be one half of the market price when controls were released. This meant that the coffee producing countries contributed to the war effort, during three or four years, fifty per cent of the gross value of their main crop. We do not complain. We are glad to have done it for the cause of Democracy, even if the sacrifice implied the lowering of standards that were already unbelievably low. But we think the North American people should know about these things, especially since they are so frequently told of the inequities imposed upon them by the expense of foreign aid programs.

When the war was finished, the coffee countries had accumulated large surpluses of dollars in the United States, not because they could afford any savings, but because American industry could not ship many goods under the circumstances. Then the prices of industrial products went up, and those dollar deposits represented fewer goods and services, which we received in payment of coffee shipments effected previously at a low price under OPA regulations.

The lack of understanding of these matters is so serious that a Senate sub-committee was appointed in 1950 to investigate the causes of the "high" price of coffee. Actually, even at the present improved price, the income of the Latin American producers is approximately one tenth the North American average income.

As one more example of how the prices of our export products affect our economy, let me mention the case of Chilean copper during recent years, when the market was fixed in the United States. It is estimated that the reduction in national income brought about by price control meant an amount equivalent to the whole foreign debt of the country. In other words, the number of millions that Chile was underpaid for her copper had to be supplied to her in the form of loans.

This tendency to pay low prices for the work of other countries and then to devise means of rendering economic help for their development, we consider undesirable. The healthiest source of income for any nation, as for any man, is the fair compensation for its own efforts.

This fair compensation for the work of our people, represented in our exports, would probably have been obtained long ago if it were not for the short-sightedness of our ruling class, who are often satisfied to make a personal profit in business, basing their calculations on a miserable wage scale. When a sub-human standard of living for the masses is taken for granted by the Latin American employers, it is little wonder that low prices are considered acceptable for our exports, and that no consistent efforts are made to improve such prices.

Since the same wealthy class customarily controls our governments, the representatives of our countries to the international organizations care little for the living conditions of the majority of our people, and act as spokesmen for that tiny minority who always live well, whether the national income is low or high. Hence the comparative disregard for the prices of our export products, which constitute an important share of our national income, and the best possible source of savings and development.

As one good method of planting foreign capital in our countries without harvesting headaches, I have often suggested that loans be granted to our banks and public development agencies, so as to increase their financial capacity, and to utilize the knowledge of local conditions in credit programs. This would be part of a plan to foster new enterprises, stimulate the growth of the middle class, and encourage the formation of domestic capital.

I am convinced that the economic future of the Latin American countries lies in their own savings. Capital accumulation should be sought by all means, and one of these means would be to help new firms get established, if necessary with outside financing at first. Such financing would be channeled through the local credit institutions, and should be withdrawn again in time, after it has accomplished its purpose.

The larger the number of private owners in our population, the safer our institutions and our way of life. Facilitation of new ownership is an effective way to economic and over-all development for the Latin American peoples.

Unfortunately, I have found little response from North American business on this point. I have noticed more interest in acquiring property rights over the enterprises to be established in foreign countries, than in any plan to encourage indigenous development. Some businessmen say that what they want in the firms to be organized is "equity." This seems to me a corruption of a once noble word: their ideas are rather a manifestation of inequity.

IT is too often assumed that the development of Latin America is merely a question of technology and capital investment. This assumpion overlooks what is probably the fundamental issue—the moral issue.

Many of our countries are afflicted by dictatorship, militarism and dishonesty. Yet they are all theoretically organized under democratic constitutions, and they are all pledged to the Charter of the Organization of American States, which is based on the principles of freedom, human dignity and representative government. This

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dualism between the law of the land and the life of the people has a moral effect which is in some aspects worse than no law at all.

Why is this situation tolerated, and even unwillingly stimulated, by the United Nations and their regional body, the Organization of American States? Why are people in Latin America allowed to believe that the democratic countries of the world, under the growing leadership of the United States, are only interested in fighting for democracy in Germany or Italy or Japan or Russia, and care nothing to uphold the democratic principles in any nation that is not considered a menace to international peace? How can the United States exert technological leadership only, economic leadership only, and let the spiritual issues run on a rudderless course? How can the world survive without moral leadership?

Some of us in Latin America realize that the large democracies have been too busy and too worried during the last forty years averting the major dangers of world domination by either militarism or Communism, to pay much attention to the weeding of their own backyards. As believers in democracy, we point out with pride that the over-all achievement of winning two world wars, and the preparedness that may avoid a third one, are magnificent contributions to universal well-being for which we should all be grateful to the United States and to its allies.

Furthermore, we owe a great deal of credit to your Federal Government for its aptness in handling your domestic economy, which is now the center of the world economy. Proper steering has not only managed to avoid a dreaded depression since the end of the Second World War, but it has brought about an amount of prosperity such as none of us ever dreamed of.

But the responsibility of business in international relations and in world improvement is great. How can the American government be expected to create good will and to command the high esteem that this country deserves, if powerful interests exert a one-sided influence toward the protection of their investments, with no regard for the moral issues involved in the integral development of other nations?

LET me appeal to all your objectivity as North Americans and give you a crude picture of how some business interests appear, in the eyes of Latin America, to be trying to dictate the foreign policy of the United States. They seem to be asking the government of this great nation to tell the small, oppressed peoples of Latin countries: "We want you to be honest children and repay every dollar invested in your country, in an orderly, law-abiding process. Aside from this, it is no concern of ours that you live in a state of lawlessness, neither complying with the precepts of your own constitutions nor with the solemn commitments of the United Nations Charter. All our talk about representative government, honest dealing, human dignity, is just an export product for Germany or Japan or Russia. Right here in the Americas these issues are unimportant. In fact, we find it easier to deal with autocratic ruffians than with constitutional governments. Militarism and graft are perfectly acceptable to us in our relations with you, as long as your men in power pay lip-service to our side in the world struggle, and see to it that foreign investments are properly respected. Then we shall give you technical aid, that those investments may be more profitable, and that investors may continue to pretend they are interested in the development of your country."

I know that this sounds harsh, and even offensive. Yet this is the kind of misconception that the Latin American friends of the United States have to contend with, among peoples whose faith in democracy has been deteriorating during the last decades. This loss of faith increases every time the gate of diplomatic recognition

is opened to usurpers, whenever a representative government is overthrown by force.

Some months ago, for example, a legitimate government that was about to turn over power through a constitutional electoral process was suddenly knocked down by a military *coup d' état*. In the ensuing consternation, the authorized voice of North American business was heard. The *Wall Street Journal* commented something to this effect: "Our sugar companies may find the new situation advantageous, because the military government will apply a stronger hand to labor."

The Soviets stand behind Communism; the rightist totalitarians stand behind militarism. Why should not the democracies stand behind the principles of honest administration and representative government? Surely if the United States would frown on illegitimate government and corruption in the same manner in which some companies expect this country to frown at any threats to their investments, the history of the small American Republics would take a different course.

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FROM JORDAN

The Waiting War

Amman

HERE in Jordan all the problems of the Arab world are found in an almost exaggerated way. The heart of political tension in the Middle East is the Arab refugee question, and there are more refugees here than anywhere else. Jordan is the locale of the border incidents—of murderous Arab refugee "infiltrations" into Israeli territory and of murderous Israeli "reprisals," like the Kibya massacre. Here are economic and social problems on a vast scale, not a little due to the fact that the country's population (approximately one and a half million) is divided into three roughly equal groups: (1) the refugees living in camps and totally dependent on UN rations and on the supplementary help given by private agencies; (2) the so-called "economic refugees," who do not qualify for UN relief for one reason or another but are "displaced persons" in every sense of the word, and often live under conditions even worse than those in the UN camps; and (3) the Jordanian citizens themselves.

In Jordan are intensified all the emotional factors which, I am sadly concluding after weeks of interviewing Arab leaders, effectually block hope of tranquillity in the Middle East. Here the Communists, who are lying low but working quietly in the refugee camps and elsewhere, are awaiting a rich harvest. Here, as throughout the Arab world, anti-American feeling is intense and shows no signs of subsiding. And here, as elsewhere, when American prestige goes down, Communist prestige goes up. Here are the unsettled conditions, unrest and lack of tranquillity which are precisely the aim of Russia's present policy in this so-far uncommitted area of the divided world.

We came here to the capital city of Amman from Jerusalem in order to meet government officials, UN personnel, Point Four representatives, and, finally, to be presented to Husain, the young King of Jordan. King Husain, a British-educated twenty-year-old, spoke with great warmth and conviction of his desire to see peace again in the area but repeated the position of every Arab leader. There can be no settlement, the King said, almost sadly, without repatriation of the refugees—or at least recognition by Israel of the right to be repatriated, whether or not the refugees avail themselves of it. Even this, the Arabs hold, is not really justice but the "maximum injustice" that they are ready to accept. To put it at its simplest: the individual refugee now in a camp once lived in a specific place, usually a place where his fathers before him lived. He worked a particular plot of ground, picked fruit from particular trees, was part of a particular village. These things, the Arab leaders hold, belong by right to the refugee. They are his, and the Arabs will settle for nothing less than his being permitted to return to them.

Now the Israelis hold that repatriation on these terms is politically impossible. For them to bring back hundreds of thousands of angry Arabs, they say, would be tantamount to opening their gates to an army of fifth columnists. The individual Arab's home may, in fact, no longer exist; for over four years his land may have been cultivated (and probably improved) by another person. His village may have been destroyed for "security" reasons. The orange groves belong now to someone else. In short, the Arab demands are impossible. They add, too, that Israel has taken in thousands of Jews who now have the places the Arabs left. Many of these new Israeli citizens are from Arab countries. "We are willing to take our chances on being exterminated," the Israelis say, "but we are not ready to commit suicide." (Whether the Arabs freely left Israel because they were misled by their own leaders, who gave them to believe that they would soon return home after the Arabs had driven the Jews out of Palestine—as the Israelis say—or whether they were terrorized by the Israelis into leaving—as the Arabs say—depends to a large extent on whose version you are listening to. I rather suspect from what I have been able to piece together that there is a little truth in both claims. After the British left Palestine, the Arabs were without leadership; their world fell apart and the people, fearing the Israelis, followed the powerful sheiks and rich men, who were the first to leave, into the neighboring Arab lands.)

IT seems to me that, however grave the injustice done to the individual Arab, the only hope for any foreseeable settlement in the Middle East would be for the Arabs to base their policy on the *fact* of Israel's continuing existence. But this seems to be precisely the thing that the Arabs are yet unwilling to do. Clearly, they don't want the Western-oriented state of Israel in the center of the Arab world. They believe quite intensely that the Jewish state was founded by trickery, is sustained by chicanery, and will be a threat to Islamic-Arab tranquillity as long as it exists. These Jews in the Middle East (many of them recent Europeans) are regarded as cultural invaders; to put it bluntly, they are not wanted.

Whatever aversion there was to the original plans for a separate Jewish state has now been intensified

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a hundredfold, first by the stinging defeat the Arabs received when they tried to drive the Israelis out of Palestine by force, then by the Arabs' very real fear that Israel can become a viable state only by an expansionist policy and that the need for expansion will be recurrent as long as Israel is pledged to accept Jewish refugees in whatever number from whatever place; thirdly, by the human plight of the refugees and the indignities the Arabs feel they have received at the hands of the Western nations which have treated Israel with special consideration; and finally, by the Arabs' own profound conviction—which is as much a matter of the heart as of the head—that a grave injustice was perpetrated on the Arab world by the West, the U.S. in particular, when Israel was created.

Americans were not willing to accept the displaced Jews in their own prosperous country, the Arabs say, but were quite willing to play Lord Bountiful at Arab expense. Add to all these factors the element of hurt pride. The Israelis' real accomplishment in building the "wonder of the desert" is clearly the wonder of the world. It elicits such approval as the sensitive Arabs have never gotten themselves.

These human, psychological aspects of the whole problem are at the core of Middle Eastern unrest. Arab policy is built on them.

Just what is Arab policy *vis à vis* Israel and Israel's friends in the West? One can only hazard an over-all impression.

It would seem that the Arabs' ultimate desideratum is the complete collapse of the State of Israel, the return of Israeli Jews with a European background to their erstwhile homes, and the reintegration of the Jewish residents of Palestine into the Arab world as a distinct minority. The Arab states undertook a few years ago to bring this about by force of arms. For many reasons they failed, and the memory of that defeat is deeply humiliating. Now they realize they have a greater weapon than force. It is time—the one thing the Arabs, above all people, spend lavishly.

It soon becomes clear to the observer in Arab countries that individual destinies here are not invested with the same significance they are given in the West. The racial or familial destiny is the really important thing. A man does not worry too much if he doesn't get what he wants, or even if his son or grandson doesn't—he is satisfied if there is a good possibility that his great-grandson or great-great-grandson will achieve it. This, of course, is an idea utterly foreign to us, who rarely look beyond our own grandchildren and are almost exclusively concerned with our own or our children's personal destinies.

The Arabs will not be rushed into a final Palestine settlement. The present plight of the refugees is certainly painful, but when people say that the Arab governments are lacking in human feeling and *use* the refugees' plight for their own political ends, they are only half right. What is involved is not so much a cynical use of suffering as a patient use of time. The refugees themselves are willing to invest their suffering as well as their time in the cause which now unites all Arabs. There are different kinds of heroism. The Israelis are justly proud of the valor of their soldiers; but the Arab strategy of heroic waiting may yet eventually triumph. At least the Arabs are willing to gamble on its winning.

For this is the reasoning among the Arabs, based on what they consider solid facts: Up to now Israel has relied on the West, America especially, for its very existence as a nation. Money has been given lavishly from the U. S. treasury and the Jews of America, spurred on by sympathy for Hitler's victims and the efforts of the American Zionist movement, have made fabulous contributions. But this can't go on forever. The memory of Hitler will grow dim. One day the Congress of the U. S. will grow weary of Zionist pressures. Maybe American Jews too will get tired of digging into their pockets for Israel. But as long as Israel tries to live according to Western standards in the Middle East, it will be dependent on outside aid. When that aid lets up, as it will, Israel will know the beginning of the end—and the Arabs, who speak proudly of the ninety-eight years during which they out-waited the Crusaders, will know their revenge. Israel needs peace in the Middle East, above all. But reaching peace—in the sense of settlement—would be like endowing the new state with a blessing.

THERE is another important element: the political needs of the United States in the Middle East. Ultimately, this boils down to the fact that we need the strategic, oil-rich Middle East, but the Arabs, however gratefully they accept U. S. aid to develop themselves and catch up with the West, are not willing to be bought. If the U. S. helps, fine; the Arabs are grateful and cooperative. But let the U. S. try to buy a settlement, and the Arabs soon show us that not by bread alone doth the man of Islam live. As one highly-placed Arab statesman told us, in no uncertain terms: "All your dollars, all your know-how, all your Jordan projects and TVA's and Point Fours—nothing will get us to call wrong right or injustice justice."

This mentality baffles some of our policy-makers in the Middle East. Americans are not used to the intransigence and absolutism of the Arab mind, which, incidentally, is not without its special political cunning. As one U.S. representative over here said: "We have no leverage with these people." What he meant was, "We can't force them to do anything." We can threaten to withhold aid from Israel and get action, but it doesn't work with the Arabs.

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After weeks of thinking of very little else, I am forced to conclude that there is no magic solution that the U.S. can apply in this area. Economic aid is gratefully received and water development schemes are valued, but as one Arab leader told us: "You are making a big mistake if you think you can solve political problems by economic solutions." U. S. policy in the Middle East is based on two elemental points: (1) Israel is here to stay (the Arabs disagree), and (2) the U. S. is not disposed to use its military might in this area unless there is an aggressive move on the part of some other power. Given these two assumptions, the problem seems well nigh insoluble until either Israel disappears —which is unlikely—or Arab psychology changes—which is even more unlikely. Unrest seems almost inevitable, and the hard fact is that hardly anyone but the U. S. and Israel feels the urgency of the need for a solution.

Basically, over-all U. S. foreign policy today is founded on anti-Communism. Here in the Middle East the problem is not quite the same as in other parts of the world. There is no widespread popular Communist

sympathy, as in Italy and France; there is no powerful Communist Party in the Middle East (indeed the Party is legally outlawed in most Arab countries). There are, of course, adept Communist agitators who speak not of the glories of Russia and the classless society but of the evils of America and the "imperialistic" West. If Communism were to come to the Middle East it would come in the back door as anti-Imperialism.

THE true challenge to the U. S. here lies in the fact that the Arabs do not feel that they have a real stake in the fortunes of the free world. For hundreds of years the Arabs have seen the West at its worst. Anti-imperialism here runs deep; anti-Western feeling is much more immediately felt than anti-Communism, even though many of these same "anti-imperialists" are in theory unalterably opposed to the principles of Marxism. But, they tell you, Russia has no record of imperialism here. The West does. The establishment of Israel was, they hold, in the aggressive pattern. "Even the worst imperialism of the past didn't drive people out of their own homes," they argue. "What worse could Russia do to us?"

This anti-Western sentiment, founded on the bitter memory of imperialism's heydey in the Middle East and feeding on the hatred of Israel, is exploited by extremists of both Left and Right. You have the Communists, on the one hand, and, on the other, religious fanatics like the infamous pan-Islamic Moslem Brotherhood, which has been known to use terroristic methods to achieve its stated end of a revitalized, "integral" Neo-Islam. Left and Right both have the passionate hatred of past imperialism to draw on whenever they need it. Standing between them are the Center men, usually educated in European and American schools, who, happily, still have real control.

These men in some ways are more Western in their outlook than Oriental. They are trying to integrate the Arab world into the larger free world. They have a sense of urgency about re-educating their fellow countrymen in Western political thought, while they share the general Arab desire to preserve the spiritual values that are particularly theirs. They are working hard to relieve the physical poverty which has prevailed in this area for centuries. For, as all over the ill-clad, ill-fed half of the world, the Arabs are coming to see that they are not necessarily doomed to go through life diseased and undernourished, with a fifty per cent infant-mortality rate. They have realized the stunning truth that they have stood still for hundreds of years while the rest of the world has advanced at breakneck speed.

The twentieth century revolution, here as elsewhere, is happening in the minds of men. It cannot be stopped here any more than the sun can be cursed out of the sky. At this date, it can only be directed: either by the free world or, as in China, by the Communist world.

The moderate men I speak of want to use this social awakening for the cause of freedom. But such men are not all-powerful. Even in the Arab world, public opinion has to be taken into consideration as a determining political factor. No leader, for instance, who went along with a Palestine settlement involving the renunciation of refugee repatriation would last overnight here. Such a move would be as politically suicidal in the Arab world as, say, urging an immediate *rapprochement* with Russia—such an agreement to include U. S. withdrawal from Europe—would be in America. The Palestine question has aroused very deep loyalties and profound human—as opposed to merely political—reactions among the Arabs. Unless an Arab leader wants to turn his country over to the extremists, he has to keep them in mind and respect their existence.

Fear of Israeli aggression is an *idée fixe* among the Arabs. It isn't so much that they fear Israel alone, but

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the formidability of Israel plus Israel's friends in the West is very real to them. After all, they ask, what reason in the world do they have to trust the West? "Look at our history!"

AND so, after all this travel and all the interviews and observation in the Arab world, I have reached these melancholy conclusions:

(1) There is little or no hope of an Arab-Israel settlement in the foreseeable future. Israel obviously needs such a settlement desperately. But the Arabs feel that they have little to gain from such a settlement and almost everything to lose. They have time; Israel has not.

(2) Russia has as much to gain from the present unsettled condition here as the U. S. has to lose. Because of the one-sided nature of recent U. S. policy *vis à vis* the Arab-Israel tension, anti-Israel feelings are easily directed to anti-U.S. channels. And the world situation today is such that anti-American sentiments anywhere serve the interests of Communism. The Russians above all know this and are ready to profit by it.

(3) Responsible Western-minded Arab leaders, who themselves might be realistic enough to accept a chastened Israel as a *fact* in the Middle East, are bedeviled by Arab extremists. These extremists, the moderates know, can play on the most sensitive popular emotions—speaking now in the sacred language of religion and tradition, now in the language of a revived nationalism and sense of Arab unity, now with meaningful warnings against Western treachery and Israeli arrogance. The moderate leaders, who fear Communism in the Middle East as much as anyone in the West does, see the necessity to give their people a stake in freedom if only to prevent Communism. Up until now the Arabs have not had such a stake. These leaders, essentially men of the Center, are the ones responsible for new life in the Middle East—the water projects, land reclamation, the spurt in popular education, the introduction of modern machinery and scientific techniques, etc.

(4) The only practical U. S. policy under the circumstances is to help in giving the Arabs this stake in freedom; to show the Arabs the West at its best and thus win support for our political ideals of freedom; to avoid in the future the kind of foolish one-sidedness in the Israel-Arab situation which, in the Arab mind, turned us into sinister partisans rather than peacemakers in the Middle East. It is necessary certainly to strike a better balance than we have heretofore shown on this matter. Arab feelings, for instance, were deeply wounded when Mr. Alben Barkley, as Vice President, participated in Israeli Bond Drives in the United States. "What kind of non-partisanship is that?" they ask. Again, when Mr. Eric Johnston was here as an official U. S. representative and mediator, it was widely publicized that he was a vice-president of the American Christian Palestine Committee, a frankly pro-Zionist organization. The disparity between the U. S. aid given to a million and a half Israelis on the one hand and to forty million Arabs on the other, is dramatic. And fairly obvious. But, I think, these little things may do more mischief for the U. S. over here than even this, because they have an immediate effect which is quite bound up with basic loyalties.

These are my conclusions after visiting the Arab countries. They are wholly personal conclusions and should not be attributed either to the men who accompanied me on this trip—Harold E. Fey, of the *Christian Century*, and Rabbi Morris Lazaron, of the *Jewish Newsletter*—nor, indeed, to the American Friends of the Middle East, who made the trip possible and asked no more than that each of us report his own findings to his own readers.

JOHN COGLEY.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT

Unionism: Hard And Soft

A FEW months before Phil Murray died he made a promise to Benjamin Fairless, chairman of U.S. Steel, that he would accompany Fairless on a good-will tour of the company's plants.

The idea for such a tour sprang from recognition on the part of both men that relations between U.S. Steel and Murray's union, the CIO Steelworkers, could use a stiff shot of good will.

Back in 1937 Myron C. Taylor, then president of the company, made his peace with John L. Lewis, then president of the CIO, in a Washington hotel dining room, and U.S. Steel launched itself nervously on a period of friendly cooperation with the big bad CIO.

But hotter heads replaced Taylor when the latter retired to take up a new career as Roosevelt's representative at Vatican City. For about ten years the Steelworkers got the tough treatment. Fortunately for them, they were tough enough themselves for purposes both of taking it and dishing it out. The result was a series of long and bitter strikes which proved mostly that when a strong company tackles a strong union head-on, there is all hell to pay.

Apparently Fairless and friends grew weary of making such exorbitant payments to the nether regions

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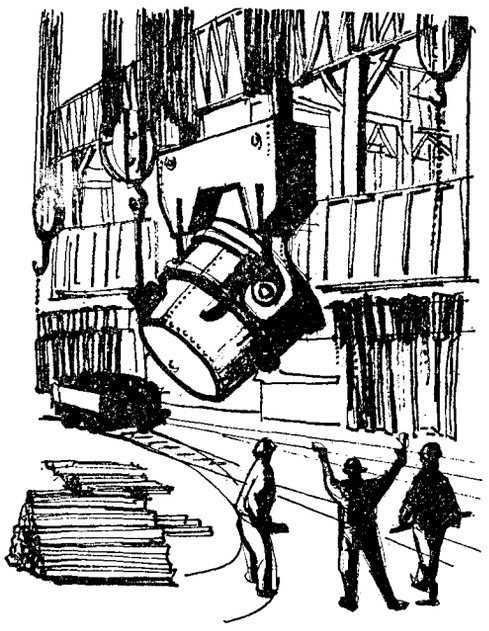
and decided to take another look at the policy of Myron Taylor. It was their good luck that the Steelworkers had for their leader a man of the Taylor type who could forgive and forget, one who could fight if challenged but who preferred peace to war—in short, Phil Murray. And so there followed, after settlement of a particularly long and bitter strike, the Fairless-Murray agreement to make the joint tour of U.S. Steel plants.

Murray never made that tour. Before he had a chance to do so he died. That was about a year ago. But recently the tour was made by Fairless and Murray's successor as president of the Steelworkers, David McDonald. The two men visited the plants together and exchanged pleasantries with plant managers, local union officials and rank-and-file workers. Although it was all pretty superficial, I imagine it did a lot of good,



if only because it gave Fairless and McDonald a chance to talk to each other in some less acid atmosphere than that which usually surrounds a collective bargaining session. But it did more than that. It symbolized a new approach to labor-management relations, or perhaps a return to the old approach of Myron Taylor, which could mean big things for American industry. For U.S. Steel is surely one of the more clangorous bell-wethers on the management side and the CIO Steelworkers are one of the largest and most influential unions in the American labor movement at the present time.

And if this tour means that U.S. Steel is really going to accept the idea of trade unionism and make up its mind to live with it on a plane of mutual respect, then this could be a move of major significance. For the conviction remains that leading elements of U.S. industry have not really accepted the idea of living with the unions. As far as one can make out some are still dreaming of the day when they can reduce workers to a state of impotence or company unionism.

THIS is what should be called, in all accuracy, the class war attitude. For it is based on the same premise that inspired Marx and Engels, namely, that capital and labor have nothing in common upon which a stable, democratic relationship can be built, that either one or the other must triumph and reduce its antagonist to a state of servile subjection.

The presence of this attitude on the part of many American employers—a preponderance to date, I would say—has naturally created a similar attitude on the part of American labor leaders. Not all, but most.

This fact does not jump up and hit you because politically American labor leaders have gone no further to the left than was necessary to embrace the vague social idealism of the New and Fair Deals. They have not, in short, become so gloomy about their prospects of victory that they feel compelled to hand over generalship in the army to the state. And they have enough common sense to see that if the state takes over, things do not necessarily improve. You have only exchanged one master for another who, five times out of ten, may be even tougher to deal with and from whose decisions there can be no appeal except to God.

This explains why, for example, the Utility Workers Union of the CIO has opposed public ownership of utilities.

But even conservative labor leaders, even those who consistently vote Republican, operate from day to day on a class war basis. The reasons for this are roughly as follows: In a union, particularly a local union, so often there are two principal factions, what might be called the soft-union faction and the hard-union faction. The Soft Unionists look for leadership to men who want to keep on the good side of management, often because they themselves have advanced and hope to advance further by doing so. We are speaking here of men who work in the plant, not professional union officials. This means that they are willing to make concessions, even major concessions of principle, always in order to avoid unpleasantness. And they will rationalize these concessions on the ground that "Well, we can get more out of management by being nice to them than we can by trying to be tough."

These soft-union rationalizations, no matter how well intentioned, lead inevitably to company unionism. By which I mean a unionism that begins and ends with the question, "What will they say upstairs?" There are plenty of company unions, on the plant level, affiliated with strong international unions of both the AFL and CIO. This is one of the first things you learn in the labor movement.

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THE Hard Unionists, to put it briefly, lump together all those in a plant who are willing to fight. They believe that justice is not usually to be had unless you're willing to fight. And they believe that management will respect you more if they know that you will put up your hands when pushed to the wall.

Most professional labor leaders come from the ranks of the Hard Unionists. If they couldn't fight, they wouldn't last in the union business, which is a tough proposition at best, akin to politics, where quarter is asked but seldom given and those with weak stomachs soon drift off into another line of work.

The difficulty is this: there are professional soldiers who might be called peace-loving men, but the tendency is for soldiers to justify their existence by a rationalization of war as, sooner or later, inevitable. The same thing is true of most Hard Unionists who become professional labor leaders. Knowing only fighting unionism and company unionism, they cannot conceive of a third alternative that could be at the same time peaceful, honorable, and still unionism. And so the class-war mentality. Even among Republicans.

How can this be broken down? In many ways, I suppose, of which the teaching in the Catholic labor schools is one of the more praiseworthy. But the most effective way will always be the example of living men. If labor leaders are confronted with employers whom they must acknowledge to be decent, kindly men, if they are bumping into labor leaders like Phil Murray whom they know to be fighters and at the same time men who believe in living with management, then it will not take them long to recognize that this is not only possible but desirable. It will not take them long to recognize that management and labor have even more in common than they have in conflict, and that upon this common ground it is possible to build a sound human relationship in which better things may grow. Such as, for example, joint production committees, profit-sharing, stock-sharing, and the industry council.

That is why it is good to see Dave McDonald of the Steelworkers and Ben Fairless of U.S. Steel making their joint tours through the company's plants.

On the other hand, it is sad, if true, to hear that McDonald scheduled the first of these tours during the week of the CIO convention in Cleveland so that he could take the play away from Walter Reuther, president of the CIO. By fulfilling a promise made by his old boss and patron Phil Murray McDonald has found himself in the leadership of a difficult and noble cause. It would be tragic indeed to see him discredit both himself and the cause by turning it into a weapon to be used in the CIO's in-fighting. Phil wouldn't approve of that at all.

JOHN C. CORT.

THE STAGE

THE LIFE OF THE PHOENIX

DURING the interval at "Madam, Will You Walk," Mr. Norris Houghton, co-sponsor with E. Edward Hambleton of the enterprise at the Phoenix, spoke briefly of the circumstances which prompted their endeavor, and the investment of aspiration and energy which it represents. The warmth of his reception, by an audience of no particular theatrical bias, illustrates pointedly how serious is the need to which the Phoenix Theater will offer at least a partial response. Messrs. Houghton and Hambleton have designed the Phoenix to serve as a permanent repertory group which will present, for limited engagements, works of a significant but non-commercial dramatic value. In effect, what the producers have sought to do is evade both the inflexible mercenary pressures of the Broadway system, and the naive, formless conditions of the average "experimental" theater. To accentuate their withdrawal from the dusty arena of Broadway, the sponsors of the Phoenix have moved to a large and featureless but satisfactory theater in downtown New York. Physically, the break is complete; intellectually and culturally, the enterprise shows genuine audacity and humility: one cannot but wish it well.

Praise for the impulse must not, however, obscure the fact that the late Mr. Sidney Howard's discursive and unnerving fantasy is a most unfortunate initial offering. "Madam, Will You Walk" closed on the road over a decade ago during its tryout, and there can be little pertinence in exhuming it at this point. A graceless reworking of the Faust legend, it constantly strikes a witty posture in the midst of intellectual debris. Indeed, I am not at all sure just what Mr. Howard was about, but my confusion, let me assure you, is nothing compared to his. What the play underlines again, and vividly, is the characteristic unease of the American writer—and especially playwright—in the world of ideas. Why is it that so many of our dramatists are unable to deal with the life of the mind unless they sidle up to it, wink lecherously, and in general comport themselves in the manner best described as "horsing around?" Mr. Howard horses with great enthusiasm. Whatever of intellectual consequence his play contains is finally driven out to pasture by the steady rain of highjinks. But the work's contact with reality is very tenuous, and its intelligence illusory: Mr. Howard has made great and disturbing ideas—mountains of the mind—seem trivial and even offensive. Jessica Tandy and Hume Cronyn give the play their talented presence, but the piece itself seems to me a specimen of the Broadway imagination at its most vaporous and irritating.

Messrs. Houghton and Hambleton have scheduled

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their next offering—Shakespeare's "Coriolanus"—for mid-January, and then a repertoire to include, possibly, plays by O'Casey, Tennessee Williams and Thurber. A respectable list, to be sure, but what of the literature of the past? I would recommend to the producers the legend of the bird for which they have named their theater. Out of its own ashes it rose to life, but the ashes which will generate breath in *this* Phoenix are scattered on the shelves of all our libraries. (*At the Phoenix.*)

RICHARD HAYES.

THE SCREEN

EXCELSIOR!

HAVING climbed Annapurna last week, your weary critic now tackles Everest—in documentary films of course—but my enthusiasm for this second trip, called "The Conquest of Everest," is so great that I'm ready to proclaim it one of the best documentaries ever made. There isn't a dull moment in the whole film—thanks to the magnificent pictures in Technicolor photographed by Thomas Stobart, the expertly written script by Louis MacNeice (which is both a literary and cinematic gem) and the men of the expedition themselves.

From time to time during Meredith Edwards' eloquent reading of the narration, Colonel H. C. J. Hunt, the leader of the Everest Expedition, breaks in with a few explanations of his own. With the help of maps you always know where the various camps are and what the individual climbers are up to in relation to the whole expedition.

It is the camera itself that tells so well the story of the men's bravery and the mountain's wonder—in panoramic views of the whole scene, in close-ups of faces dripping with icicles or of the snow crystals on the side of the mountain being broken with a pick, in panning shots that start at the base and finish in the summits. You may be disappointed that there are no scenes of Tensing and Edmund Hillary planting a flag at the 29,002-foot level; but there are some fine airplane views of the heights, and anyway these two men had enough to carry and think about without lugging a motion picture camera at an altitude where just plain breathing is the most important thing. The sound track, along with some very good background music composed by Arthur Benjamin, permits us to hear the men gasping for air and provides another vivid instance of reality. The warmth and human touches I found so lacking in the other mountain-climbing documentary, "Annapurna," are evident again and again in "The Conquest of Everest." If the answer to why did they climb it—"Because it is there"—isn't enough for you, the picture will be.

A HANDSOMELY photographed new CinemaScope called "Beneath the 12-Mile Reef" is set on the west coast of Florida. It is a pleasant, though at times harrowing, experience to watch Florida's Greek sponge fishermen in action. CinemaScope's wide screen does full justice to the harbor settings, seascapes and stunning underwater scenes as various members of the cast sail their boats on the Gulf of Mexico and get down into the depths to spear sponges.

Director Robert D. Webb has caught well the atmosphere of the Greek Catholic community that figures so largely in the story. But it is the story itself that goes to pieces at the mid-way point, and I can't tell wheher author A. I. Bezzerides is to blame or whether the film has been badly cut. After the picture carefully, and touchingly, establishes a fine relationship between a father (Gilbert Roland) and son (Robert Wagner) who wants also to be a fisherman, it seems to forget all about this when the plot whisks the boy away on a sojourn in the glades with a daughter (Terry Moore) of the Greeks' rival fishermen, the "Conchs." Though deeply religious, the boy doesn't even come home for his beloved papa's funeral. Perhaps the eccentricities of plot are not too important in a robust outdoor and undersea picture like this. If you can overlook such minor details, you'll find Florida and the beauties beneath the 12-mile reef well worth a visit.

IF you saw "Rain" on the stage or any of the movie versions, you've been to Pago Pago. Now it is Rita Hayworth in the title role of "Miss Sadie Thompson" who begs so earnestly not to be sent back to San Francisco. This time Sadie has been given some hot song-and-dance numbers to liven the action and bring things up-to-date. But Director Curtis Bernhardt just cannot modernize the old Somerset Maugham story.

Miss Hayworth tries hard to play Miss Thompson with flashy gusto. Her success here is obvious, but the later conversion isn't very convincing. Aldo Ray comes through well as the Marine who is willing to accept Sadie as she is. But José Ferrer, strangely enough, walks through his role as the reformer without enthusiasm. The fault is not entirely his: the role is written with little depth. Outside of his being a fanatic who blames Freud and his followers for leading moderns astray with excuses for behavior, and his being a guilt-burdened son of a missionary, this Mr. (not "Reverend") Davidson is little more than a symbol. Perhaps "Rain" and Sadie Thompson should have been left in the past with Jeanne Eagels and her parasol.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG.

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This Over-Organized Society

JOSEPH P. FITZPATRICK

IT is rather widely recognized that the heart of the social problem of our times rests in the tragic dilemma of men who seek desperately for the satisfaction of community within a social structure that makes it impossible for them to attain it. As recently as in his stirring 1952 Christmas address, the Holy Father dwelt in more detail on this familiar theme. He seems to locate the "inhumanity" of modern society in a system of vast organizations which make it impossible for men to do things for themselves outside the organizations, or to find any genuine meaning in the things they do within the organizations.

This problem of community, however, in its deeper social meaning, has not been sufficiently explored, particularly by Catholics, nor has it been given sufficient attention in Catholic discussions about social reform. There is a tendency for Catholic discussions to place too much stress on economic and political factors, and too little stress on sociological ones. A recent book by Robert A. Nisbet [*The Quest for Community*. Oxford University Press. $5.] analyzes the search for community in a way that would help us to see the problem in a better context.

"Disorganization" is not the proper term with which to describe our modern problem. Professor Nisbet is certainly correct, and he would support the analysis of Pius XII, when he asserts that contemporary society is not disorganized; rather it is over-organized. The problem lies not in organization in itself, but in the fact that organization has shattered the smaller groups in which men once found a satisfying and meaningful existence. Briefly, men enjoyed "community" in the small group; they have failed to find it within the over-organized society.

"Disintegration" is the term more accurately used to describe the state of our society in which the work that men do, their play, their study, their political activity no longer have any relationship to the meaning and purpose of their lives. This is the failure of "community."

"Community" is a technical sociological term to describe a state of social life in which the meaning and purpose of life are intimately interwoven into the institutions by which the essential functions of life are fulfilled. Briefly, man must eat and drink and be clothed; he must gather food and exchange it; he must love and be loved; be protected against enemies; he must achieve a sense of personal value by performing tasks for which he is respected; he must relate himself to other men as one who leads or follows, who teaches or is taught, guides or is guided.

If the ultimate meaning and purpose of existence are intimately related to all these essential activities of farming or working or loving or serving, then all the routine activities of life are enriched with deep meaning, and the values of life are reinforced by their constant association with the rugged aspects of existence. In this situation men generally have what LePlay called "social peace," the satisfaction of community.

When, on the other hand, the meanings of life become separated from the essential activities, the meanings drift off as a sterile, isolated idealism, while the essential activities become a dull and boring routine from which men may try to escape periodically by strange outbursts of emotional behavior. Society lacks integration. Community has ceased to exist.

ACCORDING to Nisbet, this intimate relationship between the meaning and purpose of life and the essential functions of life can be achieved only within the small, primary group, within the family, the clan, the guild, the parish which, traditionally, provided men with the satisfaction of community. He claims further, however, that this can be achieved only as long as the small group fulfills the essential functions of existence. Once these functions are taken away from the small group, it fails to be significant, and any attempt to relate the meaning and purpose of life to the small group then becomes a sterile sentimentalism that must be artificially stimulated and preserved:

> . . . there must be in any stable culture, in any civilization that prizes its integrity, functionally significant and psychologically meaningful groups and associations lying intermediate to the individual and the larger values and purposes of his society. For these are the small areas of association within which alone such values and purposes can take on clear meaning in personal life and become the vital roots of the large culture. It is, I believe, the problem of intermediate association that is fundamental at the present time.

Father Fitzpatrick is a Jesuit priest on the faculty of Fordham University.

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A problem exists today because the small group has lost its function. Production, education, security, protection, most of the vital activities of life have been taken over by the state or the large organization. The center of meaning has no function; the center of function has no meaning. Life lacks integration.

This loss of function has been attributed to technology, science, the city. Nisbet considers all of these and gives them their due. But, for him, the villain of the piece is the modern state, the ultimate center of organized power in modern society.

The modern state has destroyed community because the modern state was based on the wrong concept of freedom. Social thinkers and social leaders who helped to develop it, set out deliberately to shatter the small groups, the "lesser loyalties" which, they averred, held man in bondage; they sought to release him as a free and independent individual to develop himself without being hindered by the rigid restrictions of clan, guild or parish. When, however, the functions once fulfilled by the groups had been taken over by the state, the state then assumed the strategic power over human life that had previously been held by the small group.

The loyalty once given to the small group was transferred to the state because the citizen came to believe that the state had given him his rights, had delivered him from the constraint and restrictions of the small group. However, in the long run, this did not free the individual; it simply isolated him from the small group in which alone he could lead a meaningful existence; exposed him to the vast and complicated organization of functions in the state; removed him so far from "meaningful proximity to the major ends and purposes of his culture" that he was helpless.

The key to Nisbet's work, therefore, is this: that man can be free only in and with and through a social group in which he finds meaning associated with the fulfillment of the essential functions of his life. Any ethical principle of freedom or order is valid, therefore, only insofar as it provides for the freedom of these small groups. Nisbet calls on the best of current literature in anthropology, sociology, and political philosophy to support his position. He challenges effectively the widely accepted concept of some social scientists that the desire of man for community is a sign of recession to the immature securities of childhood or primitive life.

NISBET'S analysis of this situation is an excellent piece of writing. He points out clearly not only the relationship of the small group to social integration; but his analysis of the essential relationship of the small group to human freedom should delight the heart of the Catholic reader. He says what many a Catholic writer has been trying to say for years; but he says it because he sees what many Catholic writers have missed: that the social group that stands between the individual and the state is not an economic group or a legal association which fulfills a limited function. It is rather the spontaneous social group, intimately related to all the meanings and values of life in which man finds community.

Freedom, therefore, must be conceived not in terms of an individual right of an individual man in a context in which he can assert his right by individual effort. Rather it should be conceived as a context of social relationships which makes the exercise of freedom possible. Without this context the individual rights, from a practical point of view, are futile.

This context is the social group that disposes man's mind to ideas of freedom; that motivates him to its exercise; that takes for granted the whole host of attitudes and values in which freedom makes sense; that provides sufficient respect for the man who acts freely. It is not a written law but a complicated pattern of customs, traditions, expectations which have become interwoven into the social life of the group. When this social context is present, man's free actions can flourish. When this context is shattered, man finds himself like a fish that is free from the water. His freedom is fatal:

> . . . Release man from the context of community and you get not freedom and rights, but intolerable aloneness and subjection to demonic fears and passions.

This becomes so much more vivid today when advances in social science have revealed to us how much of an individual's behavior is rooted in patterns of motivation and thought and action which he has absorbed, often without knowing it, from his cultural environment.

The tragedy of Liberalism, now widely recognized, is thus illustrated in detail by Nisbet. Liberalism took advantage of a whole context of culture and tradition that inspired freedom and fostered it; then pushed this freedom to a limit where it destroyed the very context which had made it possible.

WITH a number of qualifications, what Nisbet writes comes close to the spirit of a genuine Catholic tradition. Yet a number of our own difficulties may prevent us from seeing this. In the first place, many of our discussions on social problems are terribly abstract. We speak of moral rights and obligations, but we give the impression that we are talking of an impersonal, objective moral universe in which the individual exercise of moral right and the individual recognition of moral obligation automatically drop men into relationships which are the expression of justice. "If men would only observe God's law," we say, or "If men would respect the rights of others, these social evils would be corrected."

What this represents is a sort of moral geometry that

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does not seem to be related to the real relations which constitute the actual order of things. This is not meant to question the need for moral principles. It simply emphasizes that we repeatedly fail to concern ourselves with the "institutional complex," the complicated psychological and sociological factors which define what social relations are an expression of justice in a given situation, and which render it possible if not easy for a person to practice justice at all.

Secondly, our own type of individualism, and our own reaction to socialism and Communism have made us reluctant to admit man's deep involvement in the social group, in community. Thus we are left to challenge the position of an individualism doomed to decay, by our own type of individualism that is in danger of failure in a world that clamors for community. We may fail to see that commitment to a social group, deep involvement in a community, far from being steps toward collectivism, were man's strongest defense against it.

One can see traces of this aspect of the problem in Catholic discussions about the small groups that should mediate between the individual and the state. Speaking of "subsidiarity," "the Industry Council plan," "the Vocational Group," we have a tendency to speak in terms of legal associations, of a group that is formally organized to fulfill a limited function. Discussions of these concepts along these lines are most important, and the present remarks are not meant to criticize them. They are made simply to point the warning, so evident in Nisbet's book, that Catholic social order must go far beyond these types of groups. The very existence of vocational groups, etc., presupposes a context of social institutions that makes them possible. They are not the spontaneous groups that constituted the traditional communities. Thus, together with tireless efforts toward vocational groups, must go an equally tireless effort to recreate the more basic types of social groups that would be a real community.

The tone of this discussion may suggest that the individual be submerged in the social group. It would be unfair, however, to say that Nisbet does not appreciate the tyrannies that small groups have exercised at times over men, or the achievement of their release from the "tyranny of lesser loyalties." Where Nisbet may leave himself exposed to criticism is in the fact that he discusses man's release from group tyranny too much in terms of a shift of power instead of a growing recognition of natural right. One does not find sufficient appreciation for the moral limitations on the state's use of the ultimate coercive power which it possesses, or for the great achievement of substituting a rule of law for a rule of power. One would like to see a sharper recognition of the moral right of the inviolate person regardless of the social context in which that right may be realized. The distinction between the existence of moral right and the possibility of exercising it is a crucial one. Emphasis on the form of social organization that makes the exercise of freedom possible is most important, but there is danger that Nisbet may give the impression that man's right to freedom is as much a function of social organization as man's effective exercise of freedom.

HOW, then, must the problem of community be met today; how enable men to achieve the satisfaction of community in the presence of our highly complicated technology and our highly centralized state? Nisbet suggests his own answer:

> . . . what we need above all else in this age is a new philosophy of *laissez faire*. The old *laissez faire* failed because it was based on erroneous premises regarding human behavior. As a theory it failed because it mistook for ineradicable characteristics of individuals qualities that were in fact inseparable from social groups. . . . To create conditions within which *autonomous groups* may prosper must be, I believe, the prime object of the new *laissez faire*. I use the word create advisedly. We should not suppose that the *laissez faire* individualism of the middle nineteenth century was a simple heritage of nature. . . . It was brought into existence by the planned destruction of old customs, associations, villages and other securities. . . . What we need at the present time is the knowledge and administrative skill to create a *laissez faire* in which the basic unit will be the social group.

Technologically this is possible. Nesbit quotes Mumford to support his conviction, widely shared today, that modern technology can be directed to a functional interdependence of small groups as easily as it has been directed toward their elimination. It all depends on what we want; the kind of social organization we wish to support by our technology. Administratively, it is also possible, Nisbet thinks, if we are really determined to create it.

This brings us to the crucial issue: men will create community again when they become passionately devoted to a purpose in life, a set of meanings and values which will motivate them to do so. Today, it is the meanings and the values that are weak and uncertain. And this is not simply because they have been dissociated from function, whether in small groups or large. It is due to a much more serious spiritual malady in Western man.

Our greatest need, then, is for a faith as all-consuming as was the faith in Liberalism a century ago. Catholics above all should see the relationship between our faith and the problem of the present. What is needed today is the creation of integrated, intimate communities, giving the satisfaction of social solidarity to men,

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while it releases them at the same time for their greatest possible personal perfection. How closely parallel this is to the life of the Church in which we reach personal perfection and achieve the fulfilment of our individual nature in and with and through the community in the living Christ as members of the Church.

Our whole Catholic experience, far from prompting us to shun involvement in the group, should dispose us to face with complete assurance the possibility of a community to which we are intimately committed, but which, at the same time, provides the context for the richest development of the human person.

This is the faith that can meet the present problem. It needs techniques, that is true, a mastery of technology and administration in its members that will enable them to re-create community associated with their faith within the complicated forms of modern life. But the task should be embraced with the optimism and confidence of the devoted Catholic.

This is not the first time that the problem of community has challenged the Church. From its foundation the Church asserted its mission to correct the isolation of the small, narrow tribes and nations of the earth; to break down their selfish and satisfied provincialism; to bring them into a higher unity, to open their minds to a higher idea and open their hearts to a more expansive love. But, in doing so, the Church insisted on respect and reverence for the genuine values of each one's particular group.

This was the struggle of Saint Paul: that the universality of the Church was to be achieved, not by destroying the various cultures and groups of the nations, but by releasing them from their evils, from their rigid isolation, and assimilating them with the great variety of their individual ways into the larger life of the Church. This should be the spirit to guide us, so that man may be united in the deep and satisfying bonds of community, but in such a way that all the genuine values of his life and the powers of his individual personality be given greater fulfillment in the group. The task will be long and marked by effort and suffering. But the light that can show the way has been in the world for centuries, and has shown the way successfully before.

The Lingering Agony of a World in Dissolution

TRIUMPH AND TRAGEDY. The Second World War, Volume VI. By Sir Winston Churchill. Houghton Mifflin. $6.

By JOHN A. LUKACS

THE publication of this last volume of Sir Winston Churchill's war memoirs has been accompanied, as usual, by a somewhat tawdry concert of praise arranged by our literary public relations experts. Superficial, often ponderous, and generally uninstructed reviews have presented the author, and main subject, of these tragic memoirs as a unique Victorian survival, an admirable mastodon.

This widespread superficiality is sad. Tocqueville wrote that "it is difficult to conceive any situation more painful than that of a great man condemned to watch the lingering agony of an exhausted country, to tend it during the alternate fits of stupefaction and raving which precede its dissolution." This kind of painful agony Churchill suffered at least twice in one ten-year period: first, in his struggle against the blindness of the mid-thirties, represented by the mind of Neville Chamberlain; second, in his struggle against the different but not less fundamental blindness of the mid-forties, represented by the entourage of Franklin Roosevelt.

"Broadly speaking," Churchill wrote in a memorandum to Anthony Eden on May 4, 1944, "the issue is: Are we going to acquiesce in the Communisation of the Balkans, and perhaps of Italy?" It is memorable, indeed, how this issue was not understood by the United States for another three years; how the American concept of concentrating solely upon the great Anti-Fascist Crusade in immediate military terms differed from the British concept of planning strategy, thinking in terms of geography, with the postwar situation always in mind. Memorable too was the reluctance of Churchill to argue these issues out, fiercely and openly, with Roosevelt. The Prime Minister was, no doubt, always aware of the awful debt, spiritual and physical, that Britain owed to the United States since 1940. Thus his freedom of argument seemed hampered; and his role in re-making Europe was not the dominant one. Out of this, great tragedies were to result.

The degree of mulish stubbornness with which the American military refused to understand the political significance of the Russian advance into Central Europe was amazing. As late as December, 1944, Admiral King considered the withholding of landing-craft from the British who needed these for Greece, in order to suppress the Communist rebellion there; at that time Admiral Leahy said that America should withdraw from European affairs as soon as the war was over; and General Marshall, with the Joint Chiefs of Staff, refused to accept an American Zone of Occupation in Austria which was offered by the British *and by the Russians*. At Yalta the Joint Chiefs of Staff insisted that nothing be spared to bring about a Russian attack on Japan, in Korea and Manchuria; as late as in April 1945 General Eisenhower refused to advance to Prague and Berlin; in July 1945 the American Armies in central Germany were withdrawn one hundred and fifty miles to the west; and, in China, General Hurley violently inveighed against "British imperialist efforts" directed against the "unifi-

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cation" of "democratic China," that is, against Mao Tse-tung.

All this was observed by Churchill with dismay. Not that he had made no mistakes. He maintained certain illusions that he could save the rest of Poland by buying Stalin off with the Curzon line. (That Roosevelt contributed, and predominantly, to the failure of this policy, is another question; but it was not a very good policy from the beginning.) Churchill had even flimsier illusions about Yugoslavia; and the fact that Tito stands outside of the Russian fold today is due to the boorishness of Stalin, not to the prescience of Churchill.

This brings us to the Balkans. The Prime Minister wanted to have Anglo-American forces in the Balkans, and worked for this cause at least eight times from 1942 to 1945; but he was always overruled. Weighed down by these failures, he turned to Stalin in May, 1944, and proposed that the Balkans be divided into zones of influence. It cannot be denied that this proposal had certain merits; and, had it been followed up, Europe and the world would look better today. True, Russia was to control Rumania and Bulgaria; but she had done so, for certain periods, in the last century, without unnecessarily upsetting the whole balance of power in Europe; moreover, Churchill felt that Britain owed little to these Balkan Governments in virtue of their eager acts of 1940-41 when, wishing to ingratiate themselves with Hitler, they snapped against their erstwhile protector and creator. And so at this sorry, but almost inevitable price, Churchill wished to save Greece, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Hungary. He *did* save Greece. From the Greek civil war Stalin cautiously abstained, and the British blood and grim determination that fended off the Communist civil threat from Athens was, instead, censured by Stettinius and Roosevelt.

To Stalin, geography, and the great issues involved in it, were clear. On the other hand, his uncertainty was, at times, significant. Sir Winston's memoirs seem to confirm what hitherto only a few historians have sensed, that not until the autumn of 1944 was Stalin fully aware of all that he was getting: that at the end of the war Russian Armies would possess, undisturbed, six Central European and Balkan States, and that these Armies would stand, equally undisturbed, beyond Vienna, Prague, Weimar, Rostock. These were the bitter fruits of Triumph and Tragedy.

The Poet and the Times

DREAM AND RESPONSIBILITY. By Peter Viereck. The University Press of Washington, D.C. $1.50.

By PATRICK F. QUINN

WHEN a shotgun goes off in a henroost, it is not easy to decide which of the birds, among those that are winged, was the one intended for slaughter. The chief trouble with this book is that in spite of its brevity it is not skillfully aimed. Mr. Viereck has brought off a small explosion, raised a cloud of dust, ruffled a good many feathers; but when do we eat?

One trusts that when Mr. Viereck writes as an historian he does not go about his work with such easy abandon. Here, in the space of hardly sixty pages, he presents his brief in the age-old dispute about the relationship between poetry and society. For a subject of this complexity a treatise would seem the appropriate vehicle, not a pamphlet, a mere brochure. But there is no need to prejudge the case on these grounds. If a writer has not too much to say, a pamphlet will serve his purpose; and if the pamphlet is incisively written, organizes a good argument, and wastes no verbal motion, it will serve his purpose well. Above all, a pamphlet should have impact. In this quality, as in all the others, *Dream and Responsibility* is defective. It sprawls.

Mr. Viereck begins by reviewing some of the issues that arose during the Ezra Pound-Bollingen controversy of a few years ago. If he had devoted all of his sixty pages to an analysis of this affair he might have made a contribution of importance. However, he gives the subject only a short workout and goes on in his next chapter to call attention to the strong Nazi flavor of the poetry of Stefan George. His third essay (four pages) nudges the subject of art *vs.* propaganda, and the book concludes with a rambling though not uninteresting set of reflections on "the poet and the machine age." These four essays are offered as so many test cases of the tension between poetry and society. Despite this clue, it requires a considerable effort in abstraction to put the four pieces together, see them as a whole, and decide what they collectively say. It is not a *dull* book, and yet what does it come to?

As I make it out, the major proposition is that now is the time for all good poets to vacate their ivory towers, and, both as poets and men, to come to the aid of humanity. If, retaining their own characteristic "dream-power," they respond more fully to their responsibility as ethical agents in a real world, then poets will be able to discern "the miraculous in the common" and disclose its presence there. As these phrases are intended to suggest, there is an Emersonian cast to Mr. Viereck's thought. He believes now, as Emerson did a century ago, that "things are in the saddle, and ride mankind." And, like Emerson again, he describes the poet's work as that of mediating between matter and spirit, revealing to a startled world that life has moral meaning, and that truth, goodness, beauty are one.

If this is it, Mr. Viereck's central affirmation is a noble one and deserves perennial restatement. But not in four cursory essays that are more concerned to argufy a difficult problem than to explore its depths and reach some thoughtful answers. If Mr. Viereck were as perturbed about the problem as he makes out to be, why such a thin and mediocre book as this? A thought, a dream, he has. What I miss is the sense of responsibility that should inform his statement of it.

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Two Achievements in Architecture

TALIESIN DRAWINGS: Recent Architecture of Frank Lloyd Wright Selected From His Drawings. Comments by Edgar Kaufmann, Jr. Wittenborn. $2.50.

CHARLES RENNIE MACKINTOSH AND THE MODERN MOVEMENT. By Thomas Howarth. Wittenborn. $10.

By WAYNE ANDREWS

FRANK Lloyd Wright is so prolific an architect that only a private detective could possibly keep track of the hundreds of buildings he has planned and built and of the dozens he is now designing in his eighty-fourth year. Thus we should be grateful for this portfolio of his latest drawings edited by Edgar Kaufmann, Jr. If we cannot hope to imagine the innovations Wright will introduce tomorrow, we may at least puzzle over this choice selection of his inventions in the last decade.

Though Mr. Kaufmann may be criticized for failing to give us in every case the date and the site of the commissions represented in his booklet, there is no denying the fact that the drawings are sensitively reproduced, and priced, besides, at a figure which everyone can afford. The sampling is adequate, no matter if the fiercer partisans of the architect may lament the omission of this or that project. And on every page and in every line the hypnotic charm of the master is evident.

ALTHOUGH for every thousand Americans who have heard of Frank Lloyd Wright, you will find no more than two or three who recognize the name of Charles Rennie Mackintosh, the publication of this superbly illustrated monograph on Mackintosh is a matter of considerable importance.

Usually pigeonholed in the textbooks as a contemporary of the promoters of the Art Nouveau and the Vienna Secession on the Continent, Mackintosh designed the Glasgow School of Art as early as 1896, when Wright was all but unknown and Van de Velde and Hoffman had hardly begun their careers. One of the most playful achievements of the anti-traditionalists, the Glasgow School was shortly followed by the series of fanciful tearooms Mackintosh fashioned for Catherine Cranston, whose aim was to woo the workers in the Glasgow shipyards away from their usual relaxation—the public houses.

Born in 1868, a year earlier than Wright, Mackintosh died in London in 1928, but not before he had proved he was one of those Scottish geniuses—like the Adam brothers of the eighteenth century and R. Norman Shaw of the nineteenth—who are meant to fix the trend of British architecture. That he did not, that this gallant and extremely talented son of a Glasgow police superintendent was overlooked in London, is the tragedy which Thomas Howarth describes with both compassion and discretion in this study.

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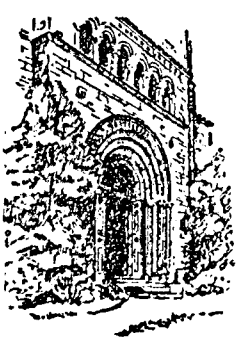

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The Vision of Industrialism

THORSTEIN VEBLEN. By David Riesman. Scribner's. $3.

By GEOFFREY ASHE

ONE of America's chief economists lived for thirty-five years as a parasite on his family, and then spent the rest of his life assailing parasitism. However you look at him, Veblen is a remarkable figure. Leisure, waste, and superfluity memorably evoked his wrath in one guise after another. His contempt for the capitalist led to anticipations of the New Deal. His contempt for the decorator made him a pioneer in demands for functional design. He believed in the Machine Age, and saw its logical outcome as a world of high-spirited craftsmen and forceful, creative scientists, with mankind united in a chivalry of service and sanity.

Mr. Riesman's principal aim is to analyze this vision.

To war against waste is no doubt admirable. Where exactly does it lead? Let us use the book to develop an instance. It appears that Veblen frequently condemned the showy, traditional civilization of England as a horrible example. H. G. Wells, a sincere English patriot, was doing the same, and it is instructive to note what has happened to this native iconoclasm. The campaign against "snobbery" and display does continue, but the people who keep it up are a mere sect, a subdivision of the Bevanite faction. Denunciations of fox-hunting, the Boat Race, the Trooping of the Color, still appear occasionally in *Tribune*—only to fizzle out unregarded. Most people no longer feel that that sort of thing matters so desperately, and of those who think it important at all, more are for it than against it. The grumblers have no alternative to offer.

This is just the kind of fruitful reflection that Mr. Riesman inspires. As he amply shows, the trouble with Veblenist common-sense is that it is so negative. The makers of modern industry, Taylor and Ford, attacked the wastefulness of the old-style craftsman or machinist in a thoroughly Veblenian spirit. They sought, with partial success, to eliminate non-productive effort. But they offered no valid substitute for the personal skill they stripped away. And even the elimination miscarried. The only method of organizing workers for fullest efficiency was to create huge bureaucracies of planners and engineers. In the upshot, the social parasite with a mansion is not always so easily distinguished from the social parasite with a stopwatch. Some technical educators, notably Mogensen, are now teaching workers to study and organize their own jobs. These efforts, however, are at best palliatives. The experts are entrenched, and to anyone who has worked in North American industry, Veblen's dream of a radical movement of engineers will seem absurd.

A "planned economy" breeds bureaucracy in the same way as Taylorism or Fordism. Swarms of civil servants elaborately fail to produce. Pundits and politicians succeed to the squirearchy.

The abolition of waste—of genuine, senseless, inexcusable waste—is a noble goal. Quite likely the efforts both of Socialists and of managerialists have been well directed: certainly they have registered impressive gains. The social result, however, is not a free commonwealth of productive citizens. It is a complex pagoda of privilege, with wastes and frailties of its own. Mr. Riesman rightly emphasizes the implied demand in Veblen's system for a fresh human type, with fresh vision and initiative. Veblen never found his ideal modern man in any considerable numbers, and the machine, despite its admirer's hopes, has not yet produced him. We are still waiting for a god to come out of it.

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Seeking the Sources

TOWARDS A LIVING TRADITION. Published under the direction of Justus George Lawler. Pio Decimo Press. Paper $1.50, Cloth $2.50.

By EMERIC A. LAWRENCE

IN our time there is much talk about changing the world. But even among Catholics there is scant agreement either as to definitive aims or immediate means. Perhaps the basic reason for this lack of unanimity is that so few realize what basically is wrong with the world and how it got that way. Two of the essays in this book attempt this necessary diagnosis.

According to Mr. Justus George Lawler, modern man has been cut off from the Christian tradition in philosophy, theology, and education. In philosophy the break with tradition has produced a subjectivism and an anti-intellectual trend that "has led in our days to Christian thinkers rejecting the primacy of reason and making the will (as with Maurice Blondel) or the intuition (as with Gabriel Marcel) the mea-

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sure of belief." (Some readers will surely be shocked at the author's classifying of Newman as a forerunner of a subjectivist and anti-intellectual trend).

It is in the field of theology and religious practice that the loss of traditional vision and values has had its most serious results. Subjectivism takes over here too with the result that man's individualistic feelings and impulses assume primacy over the needs and demands of the Christian community. Divine worship is evaluated, not as corporate service paid to God, but as a means to man's own spiritual development.

The ultimate result of the negation of tradition is the "ghetto" mentality of so many Catholics, that peculiar and utterly unChristlike frame of mind that seeks to isolate Catholics from the natural virtues of their environment, and dilutes or destroys any Christianizing influence on their part on the world.

Father Pie Regamey's diagnosis leads him more particularly into the situation of Christian art, which (to put it mildly) he finds depressing. "If there is decadence in Christian art, it is because there is abasement and regression in Christian life." He pulls no punches in describing how Catholics, by their blindness to scriptural, theological, and traditional values, are now surrounded by the "art" they deserve.

Although it is a rather gloomy picture that these two authors depict of modern man and his society, it is far from hopeless. There is salvation, they maintain, in the restoration of the Liturgy to its rightful place as the proper worship of the Christian community; for, according to Dietrich von Hildebrand in his Foreword, it is in the Liturgy that the free man identifies himself with the worshipping Christ and is immersed into Christ's true world. Dom Jean Hild, in the book's opening essay, seeks to introduce his readers into that world.

Dom Hild insists that, since the faithful share in Christ's priesthood through Baptism, they must exercise their priesthood by active participation in the Liturgy. The point is well taken. I should only like to express the hope that the editor will bear in mind in future numbers of the series that it is not only by liturgical participation but also by action (flowing from the sacrament of Confirmation) that Catholics live out the fullness of their nature and thus contribute their share towards re-constructing a living tradition.

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Patrick F. Quinn is a member of the English faculty at Wellesley College.

Wayne Andrews is the author of *The Battle for Chicago* and *The Vanderbilt Legend*.

Geoffrey Ashe writes on political and literary questions for journals in both England and the United States.

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